

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ACDA-05 ISO-00 EURE-00 SSO-00 INRE-00

NSCE-00 USIE-00 CIAE-00 PM-03 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00

PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 DODE-00 ERDA-05

ERDE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 SAM-01 BIB-01 CU-02 SS-15 NSC-05

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O R 081520Z JUL 75

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2601

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 3625

GENEVA: FOR USDEL CSCE.

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO, CSCE

SUBJECT: CSCE: TEXT OF TURKISH PRESENTATION ON CBMS IN JULY 8
NAC

REF: GENEVA 5077

TRANSMITTED BELOW, PER SEPTTEL, ARE TALKING POINTS COVERING
PRESENTATION BY TURKISH CHARGE (ALP) IN JULY 8 NAC ON TURKISH
CBM EXCEPTION.

BEGIN TEXT:

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I HAVE BEEN INSTRUCTED BY MY AUTHORITIES TO BRING TO
THE ATTENTION OF THE COUNCIL, THE FOLLOWING POINTS CONCERNING
THE NEGOTIATIONS IN THE CSCE ON CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES:

1. FROM THE START OF THE SECOND PHASE OF THE CSCE, EVEN BEFORE, WE HAD EXPLAINED IN DETAIL TO OUR ALLIES THE FUNDAMENTAL DIFFICULTIES WHICH WE HAD ENCOUNTERED IN ACCEPTING CERTAIN PARAMETERS OF CBM'S AS THEY WERE ENVISAGED BY A MAJORITY OF ALLIED DELEGATIONS. WE HAD EXPLAINED IN PARTICULAR THE REASONS WHY WE WERE UNABLE TO ACCEPT, AS THE PARAMETER OF "AREA OF APPLICATION", A DISTANCE OF 100-150 KMS FROM OUR FRONTIERS AND HAD POINTED OUT, AMONG OTHERS, TO THE FACT THAT HAVING A LONG FRONTIER WITH NON-PARTICIPATING COUNTRIES, ANY EXTENSION OF THE AREA BEYOND THESE LIMITS WOULD MEAN A UNILATERAL NOTIFICATION ACTION BY TURKEY TO NON-PARTICIPATING COUNTRIES AND WOULD NOT CORRESPOND TO THE GEO-POLITICAL REALITIES OF THIS REGION.

IN THE THE COURSE OF NATO CONSULTATIONS, WE HAVE BEEN REQUESTED BY OUR ALLIES NOT TO EXPOSE OUR POSITION IN THE REGULAR MEETING OF THE CONFERENCE OR IN OUR PRIVATE CONTACTS WITH NON NATO MEMBER COUNTRIES ON THE GROUNDS THAT SUCH AN ATTITUDE WOULD WEAKEN THE GENERAL ALLIED POSITION WHICH AIMS AT INCLUSION OF AS LARGE AN AREA AS POSSIBLE OF THE SOVIET TERRITORY IN THE NOTIFICATION PROCEDURE.

WE HAVE COMPLIED WITH THIS REQUEST, WITH THE UNDERSTANDING THAT, ONCE THE POSSIBILITY OF A REASONABLE AGREEMENT WITH THE SOVIETS ON THIS PARAMETER WAS IN SIGHT, WE WOULD WORK TOGETHER FOR THE INSERTION OF A SPECIAL CLAUSE OF EXCEPTION AS IN THE CASE OF THE SOVIETS-WITH REGARD TO THE TURKISH TERRITORY EAST OF THE STRAITS. THE COUNCIL ITSELF HAD NOTED THE PRINCIPLE OF SUCH A SPECIAL CLAUSE IN C-M(74)57 WHICH STATES THAT "SPECIAL CARE SHOULD BE TAKEN OF THE NEEDS OF NATO FLANK STATES."

WE HAVE PROPOSED TO ALLIED DELEGATIONS IN NATO A FORMULA WHICH FORSEES NOTIFICATION WITHIN 100 KMS. INSIDE FROM OUR LAND AND SEA FRONTIERS TOGETHER WITH AN AREA OF EXCEPTION CONSISTING OF THE SOUTH-EAST AND EASTERN REGIONS OF TURKEY. THESE ARE REGIONS ADJACENT TO NON-PARTICIPATING

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COUNTRIES. WE HAVE EXPLAINED THAT, A SUBSTANTIAL EXTENSION OF THE DEPTH OF 100 KMS. WOULD PRACTICALLY MEAN THE INCLUSION OF THE MOST OF THE ANATOLIA IN THE AREA, THUS RENDERING MEANINGLESS THE RECOGNITION OF A SPECIAL ARRANGEMENT FOR TURKEY.

SOME OF OUR ALLIES HAVE OBJECTED THE DEFINITION OF THE DEPTH IN KILOMETERS ARGUING THAT THIS WOULD ENCOURAGE THE SOVIETS IN THEIR INSISTENCE IN NOT ACCEPTING MORE THAN 250 KMS., AND SUGGESTED THAT WE TOO ACCEPT THE SAME FIGURE.

AS I SAID, MR. CHAIRMAN, SUCH AN ARRANGEMENT IS NOT ACCEPTABLE TO US, SINCE IT WOULD PRE-EMPT ANY VALUE OF THE

EXEMPTION CLAUSE ITSELF. AN ANALOGY WITH THE SOVIET TERRITORY IN EUROPE IS NOT AS RELEVANT AS IT SEEMS AT FIRST SIGHT.

IT IS SEVEN TIMES LARGER THAN THE WHOLE OF TURKISH TERRITORY AND IS NOT ADJACENT TO ANY NON-PARTICIPATING COUNTRY. CONSEQUENTLY, SAME CRITERIA OR GEO-POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS ARE NOT APPLICABLE TO BOTH TERRITORIES AND THUS THERE IS NO REASON FOR THE APPLICATION OF THE SAME FIGURES.

WE ARE CONFIDENT THAT, IF SOME OF OUR ALLIES PROVIDE US WITH AN EXPLICIT SUPPORT, THE CHANCES OF ACCEPTANCE BY THE SOVIETS AND OTHER WP COUNTRIES WILL GREATLY INCREASE. ON THE OTHER HAND, IT IS WELL KNOWN THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE NEVER TIED THEIR EXCEPTION CLAUSE TO THE ONE WHICH WILL BE ACCEPTED FOR TURKEY AND THEY HAVE CLEARLY STATED ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS THAT THEY DID NOT HAVE ANY OBJECTION TO ITS RATIONALE.

I AM AUTHORIZED ALSO TO STATE, MR. CHAIRMAN, THAT MY AUTHORITIES CAN ACCEPT NOW THE EXTENSION OF THE DEPTH OF NOTIFICATION AREA FROM 100 TO 150 KMS AS A SIGN OF GOOD WILL IN ORDER TO FACILITATE THE TASK OF THE ALLIED NEGOTIATORS.

2. THE SECOND QUESTION WHICH AGAIN CONCERNS THE CBM'S, IS THE QUESTION OF THE NOTIFICATION OF THE MANEUVERES BY AMPHIBIOUS FORCES ABOVE A CERTAIN NUMERICAL LEVEL.

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2602

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 USNATO 3625

THE PRESENT GENERAL FORMULATION FAVORED BY THE WP COUNTRIES FORESEES A TROOP LEVEL OF 25,000 EXPRESSED AS UNIT FORMATION (EVENTUALLY ARMY CORPS) AND INCLUDES THE AMPHIBIOUS TROOPS IF THEY TAKE PART IN A COMBINED MANOEUVRE. IN OTHER WORDS, MANOEUVRES OF THE AMPHIBIOUS FORCES AS SUCH (AS THEY EXIST IN SOVIET ARMED FORCE) WILL BE NOTIFIED IF THEY REACH TO AN UNLIKELY LEVEL OF 20 TO 25,000 MEN.

IN VIEW OF THE LARGELY SUPERIOR SOVIET NAVAL CAPABILITY IN THE BLACK SEA REGION AND OUR EXTENSIVE SEA FRONTIERS WITH THE SOVIETS, MY AUTHORITIES BELIEVE THAT, IF NOTIFICATIONS IN THIS REGION WILL HAVE A REALLY SIGNIFICANT CONFIDENCE-BUILDING OR POLITICAL VALUE, THEY SHOULD EMBRACE ALSO AMPHIBIOUS MANOEUVRES WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF AMPHIBIOUS TROOPS AT A LEVEL OF TWO BRIGADES.
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NEGOTIATIONS IN GENEVA HAVE SHOWN THAT ALL NEUTRAL COUNTRIES ARE WILLING TO SUPPORT SUCH A MEASURE AND THE SWEDISH DELEGATION HAS IN FACT ADVANCED A SIMILAR PROPOSAL. ON THE OTHER HAND, ALTHOUGH SOME NATO DELEGATIONS RAISED OBJECTIONS, THEY HAVE NEVER GIVEN SPECIFIC REASONS OTHER THAN THE DIFFICULTY OF NEGOTIABILITY OF THIS MEASURE WITH THE SOVIET UNION. TO OUR KNOWLEDGE, NONE OF THE NATO COUNTRIES HAVE OR IS PLANNING TO HAVE SUCH AN AMPHIBIOUS TROOP LEVEL IN THE AREA.

THE LEVEL OF TWO BRIGADES BEING ABOVE THE UPPER LIMIT OF THE TOTAL AMPHIBIOUS FORCES WHICH THE SOVIETS MIGHT CONCENTRATE IN ONE OF THE AREAS FOR PURPOSES OF MILITARY MANOEUVRES, WE HAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT THERE IS A CONSIDERABLE CHANCE THAT THIS MEASURE BE ACCEPTED BY THEM, PROVIDED THAT THE WEST SUPPORTS THE SAME VIEW. BESIDES THE SPECIAL IMPORTANCE WHICH WE ATTACH TO SUCH MEASURE FOR SPECIFIC REASONS, IT IS EVIDENT THAT THIS IS ALSO A MEASURE VALUABLE TO MANY ALLIED AND NEUTRAL COUNTRIES.

MR. CHAIRMAN,

I APOLOGIZE FOR HAVING TAKEN SO LONG THE PRECIOUS TIME OF THE COUNCIL BUT I WOULD LIKE TO ENSURE THAT MY INSISTENCE IS NOT INCOMMENSURATE WITH THE IMPORTANCE WE ATTACH TO THESE POINTS AND THE SUPPORT WHICH OUR ALLIES MAY PROVIDE IN THE SPIRIT OF MUTUAL INTEREST AND SOLIDARITY THAT HAVE GUIDED US DURING THIS EXERCISE WILL BE VERY MUCH APPRECIATED BY MY GOVERNMENT.
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